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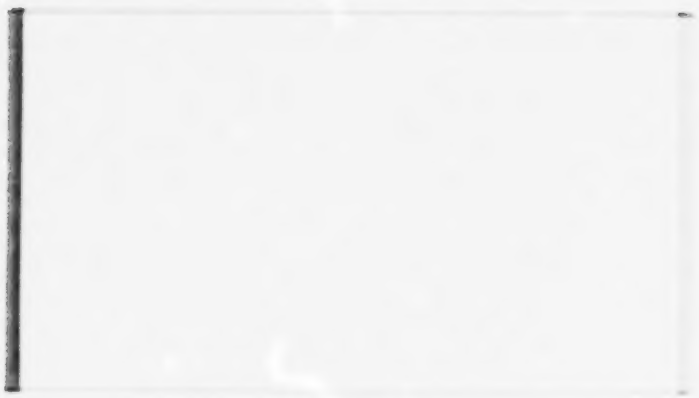

Canada

POLISH WRITING IN CANADA

A PRELIMINARY SURVEY

BY

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FOREWORD

The reports in this series, commissioned by the Multicultural Sector of the Department of the Secretary of State, were completed between 1979 and 1986. The content may therefore not always reflect entirely accurately the current situation, but, as pointed out in one of the reports, the situation of the ethnic writer per se has not changed appreciably in the last few years. Only the volume of publication has increased.

My task as editor was not to "normalize" the style of the individual contributors, but to ensure first of all a reasonable degree of conformity in the kind of material provided and in the layout of this material. Beyond this, and more importantly, I was concerned with the bibliographical information, which was intended to be as full and accurate as possible. It is in this area that the greatest difficulties lie in the field of ethnic literature.

A considerable proportion of the literature published by Canadian ethnic writers appears in journals with a very limited circulation or with a very short lifespan. Such periodicals may disappear even before they have been considered for acquisition by libraries, or they may go through a series of sea-changes re-appearing here or there under a different editor and a different name. Monographic works, on the other hand, are frequently published by small presses that apparently either do not know or ignore the requirement that they deposit copies of every publication with the National Library.

Most of the works listed in these reports are therefore not to be found in the National Library, no matter whether they have appeared in Canada or, as in so many cases, abroad. And since it is by no means easy to track down the works of any given individual, unless he or she is published by a mainstream publishing house or manages somehow to rank as an established figure - if only bibliographically - much of the bibliographical information is based on secondhand sources and is at times incomplete.

The problems are compounded by the difficulties in transliterating foreign symbols and by the less rigid conventions that apply in other cultures. While there are accepted systems of transliteration in the library world, the authors of these reports have not used them, and I have not felt it essential to apply them. By the same token, many of the writers cited, particularly those from the Indian sub-continent use more then one name, depending on circumstances and personal preference. Again, no attempt has been made to produce name forms that might find official acceptance in library circles.

Given the almost total absence of bibliographical, biographical, and critical sources in this field, these reports can only be viewed as first attempts at surveying the field. The same may be said of the bibliographical information, except that in most cases more writers and works are listed than are discussed in the text and an attempt has been made to incorporate bibliographical information through 1986. I sincerely hope that these reports will encourage readers and researchers in an area of Canadian literature which is full of vitality and promise.

Michael S. Batts

> Canada will be honoured for the role it plays in providing many writers-in-exile a place to stand.
>
> Albert Moritz

> E pluribus unum, it says on your [U.S.] coins ... The rule of the longer term is many from many, e pluribus plus. It's a gift we are constantly given. The tower of Babel is constantly falling. In a Vietnamese restaurant in Vancouver ... I saw a small handlettered sign. It said, "Vietnamese New Year Celebration, to be held in the Polish Friendship Centre." We laugh. Then we remember some of the pain and dislocation behind that sign, and we stop laughing. But the people who put up the sign, and those who established that little centre have survived. They are here, like the rest of us, refugees, bringing meaning into the language, bringing their languages into the language ...
>
> Robert Bringhurst

Inhabitants of the "lands of partitioned Poland" began arriving in Canada as early as the eighteenth century, but their numbers were small. When the influx became sizeable, in the 1890s and intermittently for most of the first decades of the twentieth century, the overwhelming majority of the immigrants were peasants ("men in sheepskin coats," as Lord Sifton put it), often illiterate, and quite often uncertain of their national identity: some would describe themselves in regional terms (e.g. as "Galicians"), others felt Ukrainian rather than Polish.[1] As far as one can ascertain, there wasn't a single Polish writer among these pre-World War II immigrants, and the fact is hardly surprising. The image of Canada current among Polish intellectuals in the interwar period had to do more with nature than with culture, with the availability of land and work than with literature. Literary works by Canadian or American authors set in Canada which were at the time known in Poland, such as the story of Anne of Green Gables, the tales of J.O. Curwood or of Grey Owl, rather than contradict, reinforced the prevailing image of Canada. Indeed, when the popular author of travel books, Arkady Fiedler, published an account of his travels

in Canada, he called it Kanada pachnąca żywicą - "Canada Fragrant with Resin" (1937). The book went through nine editions by 1947 (as well as being translated into German and other languages), but it was, as far as one can see, the only literary product of a Polish writer's contact with Canada in the entire interwar period.

World War II scattered Polish writers across a dozen countries, from the Soviet Union to Argentina, and from England to the United States. None of the better-known writers, however, came to live in Canada. It was later, in the postwar period, that some Polish writers made Canada their temporary home, while a few stayed permanently. If one were to give a rather liberal sense to the term "writer," then it would be possible to say that no less than fifty Polish writers have lived and written in Canada in the postwar period. As we shall see, some of them can be described as not just Polish, but as Polish-Canadian writers.

***

The most prominent of those Polish writers who made Canada their temporary home was Micha Choromański (1904-1972). Choromański's reputation rests primarily on his prewar experimental novel Zazdrość i medycyna (Jealousy and Medicine), but he is also the author of several other novels and collections of short stories, most of which were published in Poland after 1958. Choromański came to Canada during or immediately after the War via South America, and settled with his wife, Ruth Sorel, in Montreal (where his wife organized a ballet group). Very little is known of Choromański's sojourn in Canada. More disappointingly, his Canadian experience (and he stayed in Canada till 1958, before returning to Poland) seems to have left little imprint on his writings. His "memoirs," published in Poznań in 1976 under the title Memuary, are highly unconventional for this genre in that the author has made a conscious effort to turn his autobiography into a collection of short stories of a somewhat peculiar kind. As a result, the two "chapters" which are set in Montreal, "Who was Dr. Bexon? A Lesson in English," and "Tapestries," instead of telling of the author's life in Canada, narrate two quite absurd tales whose informative content is almost negligible. The first turns as much on some linguistic jokes (e.g. the taking of a well known expletive for its near homonym "sheet"), as on a bizarre beating of the protagonist by an unnamed visitor, the point being that not knowing a foreign language well can have strange consequences, such as getting

you into trouble or saving you from being robbed; the second story, after some autobiographical details concerning Ruth Sorel's ballet, tells amusingly of the sudden onset of paranoia in the case of one Swierz-Zaleski, who, being in charge of the Polish Treasures in Ottawa, informs the Polish Embassy of their whereabouts and then flees to Montreal fearing some terrible retribution at the hands of incensed Polish anti-communist émigrés. In the final chapter we get a brief glimpse of Rafał Malczewski, a notable Polish painter (and the son of the well-known Symbolist painter, Jacek Malczewski). The briefness of the mention is a pity, as Rafał Malczewski, who lived in Canada from 1942 till his death in 1965, was not only a painter of some standing, but had published literary sketches and short stories, a few of which describe his Canadian experiences.

The other work of Choromański's which is based, at least partly, on his experiences in Canada, is entitled Dygresje na temat kaloszy (Digressions on the Theme of Galoshes). Published in Poland in 1966, it is a rather flat satire on Polish political émigrés, and the setting is reduced to a few unrevealing details (such as the name "Sheila" or the titles of some books sold in drugstores, including Paradise Lost). The author obviously wanted to make fun of Polish political émigrés wherever they pursued their (un)patriotic "pipe-dreams," but the universalized setting has not saved the work from dating badly. In fact, it fails to come anywhere close, not only to such masterpieces on a similar theme as Witold Gombrowicz's Trans-Atlantyk or Cz. Straszewicz's Turyści z bocianich gniazd (Tourists from Crow's Nests), but even to J. Peterkiewicz's Future to Let, which is incomparably more witty.

In Choromański's flat-footed "Digressions" there was no room for the real drama of former soldiers, veterans of bloody battles, survivors of German and Soviet camps, displaced persons, trying to find their bearings in the postwar world, including Canada.[2] One has a better sense of one kind of their predicament from the early writings of Janusz Artur Ihnatowicz, who tried to become a Polish poet while working in an insurance firm in Toronto.

Ihnatowicz was born in Wilno in 1929. He spent the war years in Częstochowa, left Poland in 1946 (by which time his native city had become part of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Lithuania), and after several years in London and Dublin, where he studied psychology and philosophy, came to Canada in 1952 and settled in Toronto. Ihnatowicz's stay in Canada was relatively brief, as he went back to Poland

in 1958, where he enrolled in a seminary and was ordained as a priest. He did, however, return to North America, and has been teaching philosophy at the Catholic University of St. Thomas in Houston, Texas. He has also paid a number of visits to Canada, and has published in the Polish-Canadian semi-weekly Związkowiec (Alliancer).[3]

During his stay in Toronto, Ihnatowicz corresponded extensively with his friend in London, Bolesław Taborski, and when Taborski and several other young Poles in London formed a literary group, later known as the Kontynenty group he published in their little magazines, Życie Akademickie, Merkuriusz Polski, and Kontynenty, trying to play the role of Ezra Pound to his often younger poetic colleagues in London. As he became known to the Polish circles in Toronto through his publications in London, he made the acquaintance of two other Polish Torontonians, and found hemself in demand among the Torontonian Poles:

> Toronto laid siege to me; the so-called "circles" suddenly woke up to having "a talented young writer among them" and naturally wanted to take advantage of this. I was asked to play Chopin at some commemorative event or other ... to write a poem about Mickiewicz and preferably recite it myself ... to write a poem about the significance of the Third of May Constitution for us Poles in Canada ... to write a variety show for the opening of a shop of some local patrons of the arts ... to write a script for the local comedian Kocjan ...

Despite the obvious irony of Ihnatowicz's reaction to his sudden "popularity," he found the quickening tempo of Polish cultural life in London and Toronto around the year 1955 stimulating and encouraging. Already in 1954 he wrote to Taborski:

> I note with particular interest one phenomenon: the "emergence" of our generation. Gradually Polish circles of Oxford, the University of London, of the Irish universities, etc., are beginning to make themselves heard. It seems to me that we are quite a "unique" generation. Our roots are in Poland and in the émigré ghettoes, but at the same time, thanks to our West European education we have outgrown both of them ... Those of us who had left Poland in 1939, who have gone through Russia etc., have

> experienced from childhood a kaleidoscope of cultures and schooling which, even despite the countermeasures taken by our parents and our Polish teachers ... has had to leave its mark on our psychological mirrors; those who had spent the war years in occupied Poland, went through ... a time of cultural void filled with physical and spiritual horror ... It was only later, when we have suddenly found ourselves in the West, that we could taste the apples of Greco-Roman beauties and virtues, and it was not from Polish orchards that most of these came ... In other words, we see Polish culture through the eyes of West European culture, in contrast to the older generation ... I wonder what will become of us.

Ihnatowicz could not have known, of course, that three members of the Kontynenty group, Andrzej Busza, Bogdan Czaykowski, and Florian Smieja, would eventually settle in Canada.

Viewing, in 1954, the prospects of young Polish writers in the West, Ihnatowicz thought that, unless there was a radical political change which re-establishd communication between the émigrés and their country of origin, Polish literature in the West and in Poland would eventually develop in two different ways on account of linguistic change and the vastly different experiences. He thought, assuming that Polish writing in the west would not die out completely, that the language of Polish writers abroad would eventually deviate significantly from the language in Poland, so that the literature written in exile would become something akin to the literature of the later Latinists:

> Polish literature outside Poland is either condemned to die out ... or to develop into a Polonian literature ... or perhaps into several Polonian literatures (Polish-English, Polish-American, Polish-French) ... This is inevitable, for we create our own language, a new language which, although based on Polish, has to develop in its own way, find new words, develop a new syntax, and this is in the nature of things, since this language will be cut off from direct contact with the language of the nation. Even reading books published in Poland will not make a difference, since the problems we face and for which we must find new words, the situations in which we find ourselves and which we must name will not be found in these books; moreover,

what is the value in linguistic creation of having contact with the language only in its literary form, through the reading of books; it's like studying Latin.

One notes that Ihnatowicz did not mention a Polish-Canadian literature as one of those which might develop in the situation he envisaged. Nevertheless, his letters testify to his growing interest in Canada. We know from them how much he had welcomed the opening of the Stratford Theatre, whose performances he attended and described with enthusiasm in 1953, 1954, and 1955 (and once reviewed for a publication called UNFC Review). He attended also the performances of the first repertory theatre in Toronto as well as those of the Crest Theatre. He did not think much of the Toronto Symphony Orchestra, but he knew of the journal Discovery, and was in contact with the editors of the Canadian Slavonic Papers, for whose second volume he wrote a review article on Socialist Realism and the Catholic poets of Poland. He was interested in exploring Canada: in 1953 he made a trip to Moose Factory in the North; in 1954 he visited Montreal, and was particularly impressed with the crypt of St. Joseph's Oratory; in 1955 he made a tour of "La belle Province de Québec," and found it truly beautiful, especially, Quebec City; and he planned moving to Montreal or even Vancouver, opting for the latter on account of its mountains and closeness to the ocean, though he remarked that it was Winnipeg that apparently had "the richest cultural life in Canada, especially when it comes to the New Canadians." There is, however, no evidence that Ihnatowicz found Canadian poetry interesting; the only Canadian poet he mentions is "young Raymond Souster." This is not surprising: Ihnatowicz's poetic masters were Eliot, Pound, Valery, Hopkins, Norwid ... One can only speculate "what would have become" of him, and other young Polish writers like him, had there been no Polish October, i.e., had communications between Poland and the West not become easier, and had there been no relative liberalization of communist cultural policies in Poland after 1956.

Ihnatowicz can probably be credited with the distinction of being the first poet to sound Canadian themes in Polish verse. While in Canada, he wrote several dozen poems, including at least two longer ones ("Salony emigracyjne," an Eliotesque-Norwidian satire on Polish émigrés, and a religious meditation "Dzień pierwszy, dzień wtóry ... "); a number of the shorter ones were later included in his Wiersze wybrane (Selected Poems) published in Poland in 1973, and in English

translation in the volume Displeasure, published in London in 1975 [4]

Among the poems of the Canadian phase, some sound Canadian themes directly; in others the author's Canadian experience serves as a source of imagery and conceptual impulse for religious, metaphysical and aesthetic themes. In the first group, "Toronto" is a typical poem of alienation:

> There are so many ghastly apparitions
> in the city's blind alleys
> so many nighttime phantoms, solitary days,
> that the bird of sadness has unfolded its wings
> against the sun
> and with a purple shadow
> glows darkly over the streets.
> You say "no" so often
> when asked for a smile
> that the beer spilled on the table
> is like the sea
> you won't swim across it
> with love
> No.[5]

and "Between Abitibi and Hudson Bay" conveys a typically Canadian experience of desolation and physical harshness:

> Piles of logs along tracks,
> an Indian woman casting an evil eye,
> dwarfed pines, squatting firs,
> and the wind from the sea bluish like mist
>
> this land has no compassion, scorching
> bare hands with frost in June,
> imprisoning leaves in shards
> like pools of water in ice.

A fox crying in a trap, a deer
torn apart
and wolves being driven away from a carcass,
brothers, the wind's against our tent
and life is hard.

One of the best poems of the second group is entitled "Lying Face Up by Lake Memphremmagog." Its imagery blends elements of Quebec skyscape with symbolism derived from Hopkins and from Adam Mickiewicz's mystical poem "Farys":

The world is vast: like wings spread out
from east to west the wings of clouds,
sailing across the skies like time:
tomorrow and today today and yesterday and now
a circle of flames a thistle-star
and the icicle feathers of clouds composed
flight-feathers of a world which soars into the sky
glass feathers of crystal perfect like a leaf
which ends with a thorn ...
white feathers and black feathers, black and white
weave and bind and hold back
the soaring sky
and spin the vastness into a blue sphere ...

The world is great: bird firebird lovebird,
the spreadout wings lift the day through the light's depth
glass wings black wings lift -- high!
How great this flight, an infinite, longing flight,
like time: tomorrow yesterday and now
but not for ever: till wings melt in the sky
in the unruffled deep in deepest blue
in a world greater than time.

Mystical preoccupations inform also the poem "Joie d'été," which may be in

fact his only "Canadian" poem included in the anthology Seven Polish Canadian Poets (1984). Entitled "Canadiana" in its English version (translated by the author), the poem has three parts, subtitled "fish," "night" and "tree." The central image of the first part is that of a man letting "the worm into the depth." When a fish is caught, "it lurks on the line like a spider, till the gills eat up the void," and "the light of life explodes." The second part describes a palpable night "around the whispering embers of a fire." The night is like a conversation:

> what the shadows are saying, or rather
> what they are hinting at in their whispers,
> to this the lake, all moonlight hid, says yes.

But other voices express the Gothic terrors of the midnight hour. The immersion in the night ends in a swim in the lake, after which the mosquitoes are "like a weeping melancholy column of air." Part three provides a further contrast, being both violent and mystical:

> returning towards golden autumn
> he met death draped round
> a fiery maple
>
> exploding in a blaze of scarlet metal
> he sank with a stone-heavy soul
> into clear bottomless blue.

If in the case of Ihnatowicz the stay in Toronto brought the formative period in his life to completion, resulting in a clear choice which upheld his conviction that "art is most free when it serves," in the case of Andrzej Brycht his fifteen year sojourn in Canada has proved so far inconclusive, and in some ways disappointing. A soldier and miner in his youth, and later a heavyweight boxer, as well as an author of short stories, film scripts, reportage, and a novel, Brycht left in 1970 a Polish ship cruising in the Mediterranean, and a year later, at the age of 36, came to Canada.

Upon leaving the ship, Brycht published a "declaration" in the émigré monthly

Kultura, in which he compared contemporary Polish literature to a "wash-tub full of dark, bubbling lies." Writers in Poland, he asserted, conscious all the time of the ever vigilant censor, wrote untruths, and he did not want to write what was not true. He had left Poland, he said, "solely to write and publish a certain number of books," to lift from his shoulders "the painful burden of what had been living and pulsating" in him for years, "demanding to be set free."

In the months after his choice of freedom, Brycht published some stories and poems in Kultura, which he had written in Poland, and then fell silent for a number of years. We learn of his life and fortunes in Canada from a letter he wrote in 1983 to the editor of the officially approved literary monthly in Poland, Twórczość:

> You ask what I have been doing, what have I published and where? I had one novel published in English translation here in Canada, I wrote a few things for the TV, and had a few short pieces published in magazines. I have a few things ready, perhaps someone in Poland might publish them. And I have returned to writing poetry. Altogether I do not write much, or often; for a short time, six years, I did not write a single thing. ... It's difficult to say in one sentence what one has been doing for over ten years, but you can guess that life hasn't been easy. I grasped at every job, I was a bus and a truck driver, I poured asphalt, worked as a garbage-man, sold cars, and so on. I gave a few interviews on the TV and radio, had good reviews, I travelled quite a lot in the States, Mexico, Europe. Sometimes things were tough, at other times dead easy. For the last few years I have been living modestly, in almost complete seclusion, bringing up my son, who is five. I read a lot, but mainly in English ... Why am I not publishing more? Because I don't care to publish. I simply don't feel like it. I am living here, you know, as if on the moon, in transit ...
>
> Listen, Jerzy, I am so glad you want to publish my stuff. After all, I am a Polish writer, ain't I?

The novel Brycht refers to at the beginning of the letter appeared in Toronto in 1978 under the title Zoom (published with the support of the Canada Council and

the Ontario Arts Council). Brycht's second novel, entitled in Polish Hubris, was rejected by the Canadian publisher because, according to Brycht, "it showed patently that it had been written by a European, and what's more, an indecently anti-American one." It was this novel that the Polish editor accepted and published in the journal Twórczość in 1984.

Zoom had very few reviews, and those that it had were not over enthusiastic, though encouraging. Sam Solecki in the University of Toronto Quarterly, commented on the author's attempt "to deal with large psychological and religious issues," and how the narrator and his mentor "would be at home in the amoral world of Jerzy Kosiński." Chris Scott, in Books in Canada found the novel mildly interesting, though probably spoiled by its having been "restructured," with the unfortunate result that it was thrown out of focus "blurring its moral and metaphysical resolution so that the background of the death camp falls away, a faded image in a long lens," while "it was surely more than that." R.H. Ramsey, writing in the Canadian Forum, discerned not only that the story was set "in what seems to be contemporary Poland where the residue of German occupation mingles with the present tension, subtly suggested, between Moscow and Rome" (though this particular aspect of the novel is really negligible), but, which is more to the point, that its "nameless narrator, a young photographer" is a "cynical ruthless and ambitious" man who "craves success as a way of standing apart from what he regards as the contemptible masses." Ramsey concluded, however, that Brycht manages "to work large, provocative, metaphysical questions easily and unobtrusively into the texture of a book that succeeds not because of its ideas but ... because of its 'expressive force'." The novel was also commented upon in the emigre monthly Kultura (after it had appeared in Twórczość in 1986) by Brycht's fellow writer, Marek Nowakowski, one of the leading prose writers of the democratic opposition in Poland. After noting that some of the principal characters in the novel were taken from real life (e.g. Father Kolbe, the Catholic priest who sacrificed his own life in Auschwitz to save the life of a married man; Gajowiczek, the man whose life the priest had saved; and Jerzy Andrzejewski, a prominent Polish novelist), and completely ignoring the apparent metaphysical concerns of the author, Nowakowski focused on what he called "the basic motif of Brycht's writing: the creation of a conquistador type, never satiated, always wanting more money and fame ... that motif of greed of a young smart alec from Łódź, who wants to make good at whatever cost." He called the hero "a lyrical

brute," and "a worn-out stereotype," and suggested that the novel was a work of sensationalism in the service of the pursuit of success.

That success, of course, has evaded Brycht. Did he choose the wrong formula, one that no longer works, or the wrong country? Whatever the answer, Brycht has for the time being "returned" to Poland, if not physically, then as a writer. Another bird of passage, or so it would seem.

Two Polish writers chose Canada as a place to spend their old age: Zofia Bohdanowiczowa and Zbigniew Grabowski. They both lived in Toronto, and both died there, Bohdanowiczowa in 1965, and Grabowski in 1974.

Bohdanowiczowa's story is the more dramtic of the two, and thus more typical of Polish writers in Canada. Born in Warsaw in 1898, she lived for a number of years in Wilno; then, after the War broke out, she managed to reach Britain via Rumania, Yugoslavia, Italy, and France and settled in Wales, which had become her second homeland. She came to Canada in 1960 to join her son.

She was primarily a prose-writer; she published two novels before the War, and a third one in Toronto in 1960. Her first volume of verse appeared in Wales in 1954, and her second Przeciwiając się świerszczom (Echoing the Crickets) was published in Toronto in 1965. Thematically, the last volume is devoted to Wales, and there is some irony in this, as Bohdanowiczowa came to consider herself an exile in Toronto not only from her native land but also from her beloved Wales. Not that she did not see the poetic possibilities of Canada, as her poem "Kanada" shows:

> Canada irridescent far and wide
> By two oceans born in flight ...

But she felt isolated and nostalgic, a mere "blade of grass" that had been "much trampled on"; the vast desolate spaces frightened her, and Toronto appeared to her dehumanized and dehumanizing, a place where only the churches provided refuge from the madness of Dundas Street:

> Whose way is marked as mine is marked
> By a pilgrim's staff and a wanderer's sandal,
> Wind on the cape's wing, free dawn and free dusk,
> Must run away from Dundas Street!

For here the demon of work, of the dollar, and of madness
Lights the signals of hell ...
Here thought ...
cannot become whole.

Bohdanowiczowa was highly traditional both in her values and in her verse, and much of the modern civilisation appeared to her as a form of paganism. When Józef Wittlin, a well-known Polish writer living in New York, visited Toronto in 1963, she saw their meeting in unmistakably apocalyptic terms, as is clear from a poem (one of her best), written to commemorate the occasion:

We met on the Day of Atonement
When the sky swelled with the tears of Israel.
For the first time we examined together
The clay frames of our souls,
Amphoras archaic and patinated.
Yours had a certain transparence
And an amethyst light shone through
From its interior.
Consciousness masterfully persuaded us
That we were in an urban park above a pond
Within the autumn's flaming trees
Inside souls purpled with much suffering.
But we weren't really there.
Clouded heavens thundered loud music
Of the trumpets of Jerusalem, the Archangel extinguished
the sun
And the funereal earth was bursting.
This was our first encounter.
The next will take place on Judgement Day.[6]

Zbigniew Grabowski came to Toronto in the mid-1960s after a long literary career, during which his life had been divided between Poland and England. Born in 1903, he studied English Literature at the best Polish universities, and obtained a

Ph.D. degree for a dissertation on Walter Pater. He then became a member of the editorial board of a popular weekly, studied in Paris, Oxford, and London, and finally settled in England. His first novel, published in 1931, was quite well received, but his second, Anna, published in England in 1945, whose plot combines love and skiing, fell afoul of Polish émigré critics, who found it laughable. On the other hand, his essay Anglia wyspa nieznana was a great success among Polish, and then among English readers, when it was published in 1950 in English translation as Your Undiscovered Island. Grabowski published several collections of essays and sketches in the tradition of fin de siècle meditations on life, death, love, the woman, religion, and art. The best of these is the volume Rozmowy z Tobą (Conversations with You). The book, published in 1974, is addressed to his wife, Klara Evans, and contains the summa of the author's views on these universal questions.

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Brycht's question, addressed to the editor of the leading official literary journal in Poland, "I am a Polish writer, ain't I?," was purely rhetorical. After more than ten years in Canada, Brycht was still "in transit," he still felt "as if on the moon." There are a number of writers who, while writing in Polish, have definitely settled in Canada. In a poem entitled "I Am Not a Tourist," one of them, Florian Smieja, who came to Canada in 1969, writes:

> I say to myself: no, I am not a tourist,
> a bird of passage without a warm nest of my own,
> I do not merely journey with a cold lens.
> Here I want to lay a hand to building a house
> to be there when the forst is cleared, horses broken in,
> and man remade from his refugee tatters.
> I am concerned about the Indian in the nearby reserve,
> the Eskimo imparting beauty to stones.
> Not a tourist, then. I inhale
> the clear air that is free and untrammeled
> like this giant land, reluctantly

yielding first place only to the oceans.

And Wacław Iwaniuk, who came to Canada in 1948 confesses:

I was not born here, I do not know the splendour
of this land,
But my voice trembles when I speak of it.

Similarly, Bogdan Czaykowski's poems contain passages which testify to a growing attachment to Western Canada, where he has lived since 1962:

Orchards of the Okanagan! edens in the dells on arid mountain slopes,
wild asparagus.
I rose one morning at Ponderosa Point with music in my ears.
A bevy of quails was rustling in the leaves.
The wind swooped down, pine-cones were falling, grand as
miniature cathedrals.

Born many times, I was born once again.
I grew attached to the place.

and, in a different key:

And yet I've somehow found a way to them
though not born amongst them no not one of them
somewhere rumours have it
that I exist.

Given such poetic statements, and the appearance in 1984 of an anthology entitled Seven Polish Canadian Poets, a Polish critic, Marek Pytasz, recently drew a conclusion that "it is possibly only in Canada that Polish émigré writers consider themselves the writers of that country, describe themselves as Canadian or Polish-Canadian." He thought it happened that way "because their social situation was defined not through the ghetto-like norms of Polish communities in London or Paris, but through the open multicultural policy of the Canadian government, thanks to

which the refugee does not feel an immigrant, but a full-fledged member of the Canadian community, irrespective of origin, education or accent."

The Polish critic is undoubtedly right: the very openness of Canadian society acts as a catalyst of feelings of atttachment and appreciation. Hence the phenomenon of what one might term "hyphenation." Nevertheless, this is far from being the whole story of ethnic writing in Canada. While the very openness of Canadian society enables writers to avoid having to make clear-cut choices, to declare themselves in an exclusive manner, their situation is not as idyllic as the Polish critic suggests. Writing in Polish means that the writer has to reach the reader in translation and, more important perhaps, that the reader he has in mind as well as the poetic tradition in which he places himself are defined, at least to some extent, by the language in which he writes. Moreover, ethnic literature, as such writing is often called, while it has been receiving official encouragement and support through the agencies of multiculturalism, is viewed as hardly mainstream by many Canadian critics and editors of journals, and is suspect in the eyes of some (quite often not without reason) as being probaby inferior and of sociological rather than literary interest. The lines in one of the passages quoted above: "somewhere rumours have it that I exist," suggest at best a kind of tenuous and shadowy literary existence, an incognito presence which is not, naturally limited to ethnic writers alone, but is certainly more likely in the case of writers who canot reach a wider readership and critical attention except by means of translation, and in the already somewhat suspect category of ethnicity.

There is a further aspect of the question which is perhaps the most interesting one, as a few quotations should make clear. Polish writers, including those who do not consider themselves merely birds of passage have, more often than not, a considerable experience of geographical displacement and of cultural dislocation and relocation behind them, and this makes sometimes for a fairly complex or unusal sense of identity. If they are not in their view merely Polish, nor are they merely Canadian, and even the hyphenated status does not necessarily define their "placeness". In a poem entitled "Omnia mea mecum porto" Andrzej Busza, who had reached Canada via Palestine and England, comments with irony on the search for roots and place-defined identity:

as ordered by our Emperor
I carry a staff
with a winking gnarl
and in my knapsack
a collapsible homeland
...
I have a small store of dry provisions
a Christmas wafer a packet of dried mushrooms
and lives <u>usque ad finem</u>

I have no horse
my kingdom
is the space around an armchair
this way an elbow
that way an ell
...
when I am sad
I pour myself from the stereo
rainy preludes
like raspberry syrup
into tea
and to those who would pity me
I say

wise wisdom teeth
never have long roots

after all
we are here
only in transit.

The "here" of the last lines naturally does not refer to Canada, or to any particular country.

Placeness can be altogether a matter of great complexity, considering that it can include so much more than merely physical space, a society, or a country. Wacław Iwaniuk begins his poem "Two cities" thus:

I had a city,
They took it away.

I built a new one,
Hidden, unapproachable,
There will be no trespassers,
Merchants will not bargain at its gates in discord,
No telegrams will fly into the world from here,
Nor will politicians make useless speeches.
We, not the priests,
Will ignite the lamps in the temples.

It clearly is a city of poets and artists, but is it completely unconnected with the one which had been taken away? Or the one Iwaniuk came to settle in? Even a cursory reading of Iwaniuk's poem shows that the new city is built from and against memory, which opens "scar-sealed infernos." Moreover, the description of a new city fortified against past experience is juxtaposed in the poem with a real city, its past and present:

Today a new city grows inside me; raised
By sculptors and apprentices.
It does not stand on seven hills,
But covered in foliage breathes clean air.
Its history is recorded in pictures
Left on the walls of the City Hall;
One faded watercolour shows a clearing inhabited by Indians,
From the fire wisps of smoke still rise,
Children's flat faces and playful dogs were painted
On the tree-bark by an unknown artist.
The war chiefs, their faces in colourful stripes,

Wear feathered head-insignia and bear
A friendly smile for the White Man.
...
The collection ends with a picture of the first settlement.
Barracks, port, a large trading-post, all this surrounded
By a strong stockade, proving that something
Went rotten in the state of Denmark.

The description of this new city does not go on, but breaks off. "There are no words left," says Iwaniuk, "only silence."

Czaykowski has several poems which depict the various phases of his attempt to situate himself on the West Coast, nearly all of them containing imagery that represents the inter-penetration of multiple landscapes and spaces, so that in the end no single place is or isn't his own:

Skaha -- called dog-like -- laps at my canoe.
Suddenly a wave and a torrent of rain.
Thrown into the rushes of a swirling Horyn, in a basket woven of bast,
I swam through many storms, borne under an arm, tossed
by the waves, nourished by the trees.
Even now I hear the bursting Persian pomegranates.
Even now I'm stealing apricots in Uzbekistan.
In Kathiawar I stalk a shadow's glimmer in the waves.
O that the earth were mine, all the earth in the tongue of a small country.
In the arc of the dome I tremble: a bowstring struck by the
precipice looming over this planet.

I grew attached to the place.
Born of wormwood,
an earthman.

In an early poem, called ironically "Rebellion in Verse," Czaykowski defined language as the strongest tie binding him to his native country:

The language is my chain.

Words are my collar.

Thirty years later, that chain has remained unbroken, still a differentia specifica of someone who by then had become no more than "an earthman." Other poets of Polish origin writing in Canada have tried to free themselves, even if only partly, from the chain of their native tongue. Wacław Iwaniuk published in 1982 a volume of poems entitled Evenings on Lake Ontario, which he had written in English. Andrzej Busza has been writing poems in English at least since the mid-1970s, although he has not yet published any of them. Wladimir Krysiński who, before he came to Canada from Poland, had published two volumes of verse in Polish, wrote his long poem Formotropie (Montreal, 1977) in a mixture of French and several other languages, juxtaposing multilingual quotes, translating phrases, coining neologisms, transposing endings, interspersing syntactic structures with arrangements of words and phrases in the form of concrete poetry, to achieve, in his own words "un texte -- poème, discours culturel, délire, délire organisé, commentaire -- continuellement potentiel, constamment ouvert":

Fruits Sans Peau de Tambour Ni Trompette Ni Encore Moins
Tambour Calme Espace Voisinant Avec Nulle
Das Spiel als Weltsymbol
Metophore (Le jeu comme symbole du monde)
Et pourtant Cette Idée du Langage
Paradigme du Mouvement
De La Différance Adjonction Soustraction Enlèvement
Au sérail des eunuques bourgeois
Ideologie der Geschlossenheit Das Immergleiche Zerrüttung

The world of culture, the cultural space of signs, multilingual and multiform, can become, it seems, no less a place than any concrete country.

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The several poets who may be described, with the qualifications noted above, as Polish-Canadian, do not form a group, and while having some characteristics in

common, are as different as one would wish any group of poets to be.

Danuta Bieńkowska came to Canada via the Soviet Union, Persia, India and England. Born in Toruń, Poland, in 1927, she was deported to the Soviet Union in 1940, where she spent nearly two years, initially in a labour camp in Northern Russia, and then in Uzbekistan. In India she was attracted to theosophy and came under the influence of a Polish friend of Ghandi, Wanda Dynowska, whose translation into Polish of Bhagavad Gita she read avidly. In England Bieńkowska studied Rusian and English literature. She continued her studies at the University of Toronto, and later received the Ph.D. degree from the University of London in Polish literature. In the meantime she began teaching Slavic literatures at the University of Toronto, reaching the rank of associate professor by the time of her death in Norway in 1974 (she was killed in an accident when a cable car in which she was riding fell down a mountainside). She published two volumes of verse, Między Liniami (Between the Lines) in 1959, and Pieśń suchego języka (Song of a Dry Tongue) in 1971. In addition to poems, she wrote literary criticism, sketches, and feuilletons. Most of her non-scholarly writings are collected in the volume Między brzegami (Between Shores), published in London in 1978 with an introduction by Louis Iribarne.

The style of Bieńkowska's poems is simple, though not austere, in the manner of Różewicz. They give the impression of being uncrafted, casual, even chatty, as if their author did not care much for form, treating it as something given. They are also quite colloquial, and not remarkable for their imagery, which is seldom sustained, and usually comes together with the ordinary phrases and clichéd expressions or idioms. Bieńkowska is quite happy to let her thoughts "wither and fly," to talk of "the threshold of life," of the "clock counting the steps of the night," of the "bulb going out in the room of her dreams," or of "one's heart breaking over the last piece of a farewell torta." The chattiness and triteness, and the banalization of traditional verse-forms and colloquial speech are, however, often ironic, especially when a sudden poignancy of phrase jolts us to the realization of how utterly lost, unhappy and unfulfilled, frustrated and disillusioned, lonely and crying out for love, is the voice speaking in these unpoetic verses. As Louis Iribarne has noted, "Except when irony or self-irony are present," such poetry "risks becoming ... the instrument of self-indulgent solipsism, or exacerbated ego. Rarely is the world of eros or sensuality, the warm touch of intimacy, allowed to intrude on these poems." And yet, he added, despite "its flaws, despite the tendency to hide at times

behind a facile metaphysics, there is no denying the honesty or pain and doubt in this poetry."

Honesty, pain and doubt are not, of course, in themselves poetic, unless they engage our imaginative capacity, and it is such moments in Bieńkowska's poetry that save it from being merely a kind of obsessive whispering in a lonely confessional box by someone who, as she herself put it in her own ironic obituary, was "not liked by anyone, but not easily discouraged either, stubborn as a donkey, though not in asinine matters, devoted in a personal way to impersonal causes, the lover of many men who did not love her." Whey were so many others, less intelligent than her, less talented, loved while she wasn't, why did "all the clocks of silence strike midnight" in her life, what to do after a broken marriage, how to cope when your children leave you, how to love your native land from afar, should one make tea just for onself, should one follow one's thanatofilia to its logical conclusion, and how to assuage the doubts about Nirvana that hold you back, and, finally, how to be a poet "with a dry tongue"? Had Bieńkowska lived longer, perhaps she would have pared some of her verses to those pithy and poignant lines that make her a true poet when they occur:

It is hard to leave
When it's not possible to stay.

or:

I have such a desire
To be outside myself.

The world of Bieńkowska's poetry is almost completely devoid of the past ("It's very easy to cross out the past ...") and hence of memory. In the case of Wacław Iwaniuk memory is "everything that he has managed to recue from life," his only personal dogma. All the rest that was his, he says in a moving poem about the shatering impact of the War, "was burnt broken silenced." As in the poetry of Tadeusz Różewicz, the past for Iwaniuk is compellingly present, filling his thoughts "to the brim with darkness."

Iwaniuk was born in 1915 at Chełm Lubelski in what was soon to become a reborn

Poland. As a young man he combined an interest in economics and international commerce, which he studied at the University of Warsaw, with an interest in poetry; he contributed to various literary magazines and had two volumes of verse published before the outbreak of War, one of them in a series edited by Józef Czechowicz, a leading poet of what is sometimes called the Second Avant-Garde. After the partition of Poland between Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union in September 1939, Iwaniuk managed to reach France where he joined the Polish army; he soon saw action with the Polish Mountain Brigade in Norway. Later he served with the First Polish Armoured Division in France, Belgium, Holland, and Germany, and after the end of the War stayed for over a year with the British Occupation Army in Germany. He came to Britain in 1946, studied for a year at Cambridge, was demobilized in 1948 in the rank of Lieutenant, and in the same year came to Canada, where he settled in Toronto and worked as a court translator, first for the City of Toronto and then for the Ontario Government. In addition to several volumes of poetry (two of which received poery prizes) and short stories, Iwaniuk has published translations of American and Canadian poets in Polish, literary criticism, and feuilletons, noted for their sharpness of tone and telling it as it is, at least in their author's view.

Iwaniuk's poetry can be compared with Czesław Miłosz's, some of whose themes it parallels, and whose style it sometimes adopts and adapts to its own mode. The ambition of the poetic <u>persona</u> is similar, and so is the range. But there are also imporant differences. While Miłosz went back to the poetry of Adam Mickiewicz, the leading nineteenth century Romantic poet, as a model of a balanced style, Iwaniuk preferred to look to Cyprian K. Norwid for stylistic inspiration, and this meant the use of prosaisms and readiness to undercut formal perfection. Both have learnt from the experimental phase of the Polish poetic avant-garde, so dynamic in the 1920s and early 1930s; but while Miłosz developed and perfected the expressive power of syntax and the integrative possibilities of voice, Iwaniuk was initially attracted to the more lyrical, intonational musicality of Czechowicz, and then went beyond the somewhat restrictive avant-garde practices by opening his poetry to various other styles and letting them shape his poetic voice. Both Miłosz and Iwaniuk rejected the exessive metaphorization of much of avant-garde verse, but while Miłosz delights in letting the imagery, which in his case is largely metonymic, exercise its evocative power, so that objects in his poetry stand out revealed in their individuality and materiality, as elements of the world's body seen, touched, heard, tasted and

smelled under the spell of Eros, Iwaniuk mutes or suppresses the joy of perception and the power of evocation; his vision is sterner and kept dark by the memory of his personal experience of the war and the imaginative re-living of the horrors of the holocaust. We seldom find in his poetry a sense of delight at the mastery over form; instead, Iwaniuk's poetic language is made to serve, more often than not, the passion of deeply and bitterly offended humanity, near-prophetic wrath, and the astringency of a voice crying in wilderness against modern blindness and human baseness. "Under my skin-- writes Iwaniuk --

rebellion still frothing
the whimpering of words pierces through my temples
when I sift through the manna of ashes
the ashes of five million Jews burnt before the very eyes of God.

It is enough to juxtapose Miłosz's lines from the poem "From the Rising of the Sun":

Yet I belong to those who believe in <u>apokatastasis</u>.
The word promises reverse movement ...
It means: restoration ...
For me, therefore, everything has a double existence.
Both in time and when time shall be no more.

with Iwaniuk's lines:

Who once was burnt will not return to the crematorium!
Not all journeys end with a return.

to realise how profoundly different are the poetic visions and tempers of the two poets. Miłosz's poetics is shaped primarily by his fundamentally metaphysical and religious quest to penetrate the mystery of existence and reveal the deepest layer of reality (whereby the question <u>unde malum</u> can also be answered), and by the power of Eros; Iwaniuk's by his rebellious refusal to worship, adore, or affirm in the face of the monstrosity of modern horror.

It would be wrong, however, to give the impression that Iwaniuk has not written masterful poems, or that delight and joy are totally absent from his quite large opus which, in addition to several hundred shorter poems, comprises also several long poems, such as the early lyrical and polemical "Gorycze nocy" (Bitterness fo Night), published in Kultura in 1951, the lyrical and satirical Pieśń nad pieśniami (Song of Songs), or the later "Moja epika" (An Epic of My Own), included in the retrospective volume Wybór wierszy (Selected Poems, 1965), and "Statek kosmiczny Apollo 15 w podró y na ksi yc" (Spaceship Apollo 15 Journey to the Moon), published in the volume Lustro (Mirror) in 1971 in London, and included in English translation in the volume Dark Times (Toronto, 1979).

A large body of Iwaniuk's verse is devoted to poets, artists and thinkers, from Homer, Dante, and Shakespeare to Norwid, Kierkegaard, Mondrian, Eliot, Auden, Sartre, Camus, Dylan Thomas, Sylvia Plath, and Gombrowicz (and the list is far from complete). In such poems the tone of affirmation comes to the fore, although some of them are also among Iwaniuk's least successful pieces, marred by an excess of emotion and a tendency toward idealization. It is difficult, try as one may, to accept as apt the opening lines of the poem "When Dylan Thomas Was Dying in New York":

> When Dylan Thomas was dying in New York
> The trees of Wales were dying with him.
> And all the poets gathered to lament.
> Death! Death! He who hardly began his journey
> With his words in blossom
> Was entering darkness ...

or to feel at one with the author when reading his poem to Sylvia Plath, with its ending:

> I knew her, read about her.
> Suddenly when she died,
> Time disinherited her.
> Only Poetry, finger on its lips,
> Whispers: She's asleep.

Iwaniuk's poetry, uneven as it is, and too imposing to some on account of its uncompromising moral thrust and bitter integrity, is nevertheless of a quality, range and single-mindedness sufficiently impressive and convincing to be better known in the Canadian context, not least because, as Albert Moritz has put it, the imigrant poet "carries with him the valuable lesson of catastrophe." For

> What is salvation if those who survived
> hurry to be devoured again by night?

Florian Smieja's ambitions as a poet are modest when compared with Iwaniuk's and his opus is more limited. Born in Poland in 1925, he joined the Polish Armed Forces towards the end of the War. After the war, he lived for a few years in England. He then studied in Ireland, at University College, Cork, and after the completion of his B.A., came back to London, where he received his Ph.D. in Spanish literature. He also taught at the School of Slavonic and East European Studies, the London School of Economics, and the University of Nottingham. He edited or co-edited, while in London, the literary magazines of what later came to be known as the Kontynenty group of poets, and was active in Polish literary and cultural life. He came to Canada in 1969, where he has since been professor of Spanish literature at the University of Western Ontario, London. Together with Iwaniuk, he edited the anthology Seven Polish Canadian Poets and has contributed to Polish ethnic journals in Canada, as well as to the leading émigré periodicals in London and Paris. In addition to scholarly writings, Smieja has published literary criticism, translations of novels, plays and poems from Spanish, including the work of F. Garcia Lorca, as well as translations of American and English poetry. He has published four volumes of his own poetry in the West, two in England and two in Canada, and a retrospective volume in Cracow, Poland in 1982. A selection of his poems in English translation, entitled Not a Tourist, appeared in 1986 in London, Ontario.

Smieja is a poet of concrete situations, close human relations and moral epiphany. In his poems significant observed details illumine human character, whether individual or collective, delineate personal fate and behaviour, reveal values or their lack, and provide objective correlatives for meaningful felt experience. The poems are usually short, conceptual rather than purely lyrical, with a

touch of dry humour and irony, unassuming yet quite accomplished in diction and form, compact, pointed, and illuminating:

> Once again I am off to bury a neighbour
> to study his features in the coffin's frame
> to hear about his life, meet his kin
> Learn about his diverse habits.
> His wife, I hardly knew, widowed so soon
> demonstrates a gamut of self-control,
> plays her role deftly though only a beginner,
> and encouraging herself with a smile,
> represses the urge to sob.
> I am surprised at her, rather than sympathetic,
> although in her language 'neighbour'
> and 'fellowman' are the same word, rarely
> the word becomes flesh. Bitter, I return
> to my four walls profoundly disappointed.
> Having at last been formally introduced,
> the dead man and I could have become close friends.
>
> "Intimate Relationships"

Smieja's poems invite re-reading, as their insights are often unexpected,and their pleasure lies in the good craftsmanship they display, with the means employed fitting well the limited objectives. For Smieja is careful not to go beyond what his observations and moral sense allow him to suggest or state and he seldom lets his poetic "I" abandon the tolerance of understanding to judge from a point far above general human frailty. The honesty of his poetry is in its tone and form, a value that is not exclusively moral but poetic. Real life is seldom absent, pain and horror have been experienced, bad faith and cruelty are no strangers in his world, nor are passion, prejudice, and injustice, but the response they require of the poet is not blasphemy, ugliness or despair. On the contrary, and paradoxically, they tend to call up just the opposite, as is clear from the sardonically titled "A Proposal for a General Congregation of Angels":

To live so that it becomes brighter
to others.

Take so much
that no one is left short.

To wait, even if you know
that no one will knock on the door.

To believe in man
precisely because he fails us.

Like Smieja, Andrzej Busza is careful not to overstep the limits of his poetic craft, which is of a very high grade. His poems are almost completely free of discursive statements and any form of abstraction. They are, as his principal translator, Michael Bullock, has noted "characterised by lucid and vivid imagery formulated with great economy of language," so that their "rich content is compressed and crystallised into a few short stanzas that have the concentrated glow of stained-glass windows."

Unlike his older poetic colleagues, of whom the youngest had spent at least several years in Poland, Busza had no memories of childhood in his native land and he learned Polish in a completely foreign environment. He was born in 1938, and a year later left Poland with his parents, spending his childhood in Palestine. Educated in English-language schools in Britain, he went on to study English literature at the University of London, and became a noted specialist on Joseph Conrad. He came to Vancouver in 1965, and has since taught English and comparative literature at the University of British Columbia. While still in England Busza faced the difficult, and for him even more acute, dilemma of whether to write in Polish or in English. His choice to write in Polish was no doubt made easier by the rise of the Kontynenty group of poets, in whose little magazines he published his early work. In addition to literary criticism and scholarly publications dealing with the work of Conrad, Busza has published a large number of translations of Polish poetry into English (done mostly with Bogdan Czaykowski). His own poems have appeared in leading émigré journals as well as in literary magazines in Poland and in several anthologies in

French, English, and German translation. His first volume of poems Znaki wodne (Watermarks) has so far remained his only book of poems containing exclusively Polish work. However, a bilingual volume, containing Polish originals and their English translations, Astrologer in the Underground, was published in 1970 by the Ohio University Press. One of Busza's last publications in Polish is a long poem entitled Kohelet, published in the Paris Kultura in 1975. Since roughly that time Busza has been writing poetry predominantly in English.

With few exceptions, Busza's English poems are written in essentially the same style as his Polish ones. Their poetry and their argument are in the images, which are, indeed, lucid and sharply delineated, richly suggestive and carefully chosen and concatenated. "Concatenated" is the right word in so far as Busza's syntax is seldom the source of poetic effect; its role is rather that of setting and linking the imagery, hence the rhythm is also imagistic rather than metrical or intonational. Somewhat surprisingly, the poems do not lack tone, which is often a blend of melancholy and irony, and the power of their quite rudimentary syntax is sufficient to support their dynamic -- a dynamic which tends towards a carefully built climax:

when the downpour
of autumn nights dies away
and the sun
looms like a cobra
over a misty dawn

I shall go down to the water
and look at the trees
in the golden scales
and listen
to how
    the stone
cocooned in slime
is silent.

Busza's best poems are transmutations of personal experience, of love, metaphysical awe and anguish, the human predicament, and the paradoxes of life, into a highly cultured idiom, where emotion is conveyed through the intensity of symbolic

values juxtaposed in the unfolding of the imagery rather than in more direct ways, and intellectual content is the result of a compressed and evocative re-statement of timeless themes, with the echoes activated by diction alone rather than by diret allusion, as in the excellent "Woman with Cello and Foxes":

at the crossroads
a woman stands transfixed
waiting
for the apple-tree
to blossom again
she presses a black cello
to her thigh
and trembles as the chords
swarm through her flesh like ants
three foxes
each of a different autumn colour
scent blood
on the strings of the wind.

The treatment of theme is almost "Spanish," but the poetic quality lies principally inthe distillation and concentration of imagery and symbolism, in what is perhaps an instance of yet another form of classicism.

It would be inappropriate for the author of this essay to speak of his own work, however objective he might strive to be. Yet to omit any discussion of my own work would leave the thematic scope of the essay incomplete. What follows is a compressed excerpt from an introduction to a volume of poems in English translation, written by the translator, Iain Higgins.

"Bogdan Czaykowski was born in 1932 in Równe ... then a city in eastern Poland. By 1940 ... Czaykowski and his family ... were deported to a labour camp near Vologda in north-eastern Russia. Shortly afterwards, his father was imprisoned by the Soviet authorities, and, after a so-called amnesty had been declared in the late summer of 1941, the family went south to where a Polish army was being formed. In 1942, Czaykowski and his mother managed to leave for Persia and then went on to

India, where they lived in Polish refugee camps. (His father was never heard from again ...) Eventually, Czaykowski arrived in England in 1948, and soon took degrees in Irish and modern European history from the University College, Dublin and in Polish studies from the University of London. During the years from 1951 to 1962, Czaykowski worked at a number of jobs ranging from employee in a chocolate facotry to history teacher in a boys' comprehensive school. At the same time he began to contribute with other young poets -- also living in the English language but writing in Polish --to a student magazine Merkuriusz and then from 1959 on to a London-based magazine Kontynenty, which he edited in the years 1960-62. By 1961 Czaykowski had published a volume of poems Trzciny czcionek (Reeds of Print), and two long poems, Reductio ad absurdum and Sura, as well as a sociological study in Polish called The Poles in Great Britain (with Bolesław Sulik), and a number of essays. He was also translating various Polish poems into English and various English poems into Polish. In 1962, taking up the offer of a position teaching Polish language and literature at the University of British Columbia in Vancouver, Czaykowski emigrated to Canada. In 1964 the Instytut Literacki in Paris published his next volume of poems, Spór z granicami (the title means both "debate over limits" and "limited debate"), and, in 1974, a retrospective selection entitled Point-no-Point (1953-1970). Czaykowski has remained in Canada, and is now full professor in the Department of Slavonic Studies at UBC. Still writing poetry, he has also continued his work as a translator. Apart from translating (in collaboration with Andrzej Busza) such outstanding poets as Miłosz, Białoszewski, and Bolesław Leśmian into English, Czaykowski has translated into Polish the work of several Canadian poets, including Earle Birney, A.J.M. Smith, Al Purdy, Margaret Atwood, Phyllis Webb, and Robert Bringhurst.

Like many a good poet, Czaykowski has taken what he has found en passant and given it a new and vital place in the world of his imagination: things found, for instance, not only in the work of such poets as Cyprian Norwid, Velimir Khlebnikov, Guillaume Apollinaire, Dylan Thomas, and Al Purdy, but also in the brilliant Canadian landscapes of Emily Carr and the Group of Seven. Likely the most prominent theme in Czaykowski's poetry in his insistent search for a place to live humanly on his earth, a search that perhaps finds its end in the "Orchards of the Okanagan" with the powerful recognition that he is, "Born of wormwood, an earthman." As such, his task as a poet finds its definition in the echo of Norwid at the end of the much earlier "Whispers of Sura":

Give me the blue
earth -- I
will give it back to you.

In the course of his search, Czaykowski has passed through numerous betrayals of his very self reaching towards "elasticity" ("Ars Poetica"). Indeed, he has developed from the angry young man who views himself as "the iron curtain" in "Argument" to the relaxed and even amused, though no less exiled, poet seeing himself a quarter of a century later and half a world away as an "unseen bird" in "To Adam Czerniawski." Yet even if Czaykowski has at times succumbed to the temptation of writers in exile to write solipsistically about themselves writing --a temptation which has also become something of a habit in contemporary poetry generally - he has not been tempted to self-pity. As Czesław Miłosz wrote just over twenty years ago, Czaykowski "attacks directly the pitiful condition of the poet in exile and applies in that way the old principle of existential wisdom; to transform, through awareness, one's weakness into material and, thence, into the source of one's energy".

But Czaykowski has drawn on another source of energy besides the condition of exile: the condition of humanity in a world first devastated and then partioned by World War II and long since threatened by the possibility of nuclear annihilation. Here he has found material which powerfully informs such disparate poems as "The Garden," "Towards Evening," "Race to the Limit," "The Conquest of Berdychev," "Age de la Pierre," and, especially the long poem Sura. These poems, though disparate, have on thing in common: they are not poems of despair. Indeed, because they firmly and unsentimentally take up the problem of human suffering, they are also poems of love and of the power of imagination. Unlike many better-known-poets -- Robert Lowell, Sylvia Plath, Ted Hughes, and Margaret Atwood, to name several -- Czaykowski has written a compelling poetry of violence without writing violent poems."

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If nothing has been said so far about drama, and so relatively little about prose, it is because poetry is the only genre in which Polish writers have produced interesting work in Canada. As far as drama is concerned, it is probably no exaggeration

to say that there is no single Polish drama written in Canada which could or should command critical attention. The same is true, by and large, of most of the novels and short stories written in Polish, wih the exceptions already noted, and perhaps one or two more. What is of interest as far as prose is concerned are principally memoirs and reminiscences, and some reportage. The best seem to be those of Jadwiga Jurkszus-Tomaszewska and Adam Tomaszewski, as well as Wacław Liebert, though one could also mention some shorter works included in the volumes Pamiętnike imigrantów polskich (Memoirs of Polish Immigrants), edited by Benedykt Heydenkorn.

It seems that poetry will continue to be the leading genre of Polish Canadian writing for quite a time yet, at least if one is to judge by the fact that one hears mostly of poets among the new wave of Polish immigrants which has come to Canada in the aftermath of the Solidarity period in Poland. Such poets as Edward Zyman, who had aleady published interesting work in Poland, or the much younger, and so far unpublished Roman Sabo, seem to bode well for the continuity of Polish writing in Canada. Whether the tradition already established of Polish-Canadian poetry will make their task easier, and to what extent they may find it fruitful, are questions which it is too early as yet to answer.

Notes

1. For an outline of Polish immigration to Canada see Appendix 1.

2. For a fairly realistic depiction of the life of Polish immigrants to Canada, see the novel by the Polish writer Melchior Wańkowicz, Tworzywo (1954), published in English translation in 1973 as Three Generations.

3. A brief outline of Polish publishing in Canada is given in Appendix 2.

4. In his review of the Polish volume, Adam Czerniawski remarked that "with a few exceptions, the best poems of Ihnatowicz belong" to his earlier period. Cf. "Janusza Ihnatowicza Wiersze wybrane," Kultura, 1973, 11.

5 Translations, unless otherwise noted, are as follows: J.A. Ihnatowicz's poems by Bogdan Czaykowski, Florian Śmieja's poems by Reuel Wilson and the author, B. Czaykowski's poems by Ewa and Iain Higgins, W. Iwaniuk's poems by Jagna Boraks, A. Busza's "Omnia mea mecum porta" and "One morning" (when the downpour) by Iain Higgins and "Woman with Cello and Foxes" by Jagna Boraks and Michael Bullock; C. Miłosz's lines from From the Rising of the Sun are from Bells in Winter (New York, 1980).

6. I have slightly changed two lines in what is otherwise a very good translation by Jagna Boraks.

Appendix 1: Polish Immigration to Canada

It is extremely difficult to establish with any accuracy the number of Poles who came to Canada in the nineteenth and the early part of the twentieth century. Prior to 1918 the area that had comprised Poland was partitioned between other powers, and immigrants arriving from the area, whether of Polish or other origin, will to a large extent have been registered under the nationality of the country administering the area, e.g., Austria. On the other hand, after the re-establishment of the Polish state as a political entity in 1918, minorities were included within its borders, and these, though not Poles, may well have been registered as Poles on their arrival in Canada. There are in fact no official records of the number of Polish immigrants prior to 1901, at which time the figure was given as 6285. In 1871 the figure for Russian and Polish together had been 607. Some idea of the degree of discrepancy in later records may be gathered from the fact that official statistics record the arrival of over 100 000 Poles between 1900 and 1920 and the presence in Canada of only a little over 50 000 Poles at the census of 1921. The rate of return of immigrants, variously estimated between 10% and 50% cannot account for these discrepancies.

Radecki and Heydenkorn, in their history of the Polish people in Canada, A member of a distinguished family, posit five immigration periods: from the beginnings (the first known Polish immigrant is recorded in 1752) to 1895; from 1895 to the First World War; from 1920 until the Second World War; from 1945 to 1956; and from 1957 on. Prior to 1895 there were very few immigrants of Polish origin coming to Canada, and these originated from all parts of Poland and were distributed in time throughout Canada. Special groups included those Poles who served in the De Meuron and Watteville regiments in the war of 1812 (most of whom came to Canada via the Polish Legion and British captivity), and a group of Kashubs who arrived in 1858 and were later followed by others from the same region, some of them via the USA.

The second phase of Polish immigration coincides with the period of Canadian government encouragement of large-scale immigration. Those who came during this period were predominantly, it seems, from the area of Galicia. Their poor economic situation was the prime cause for emigration, and many no doubt intended to return, once they had established themselves financially. These immigrants made a major contribution to the Canadian economy by developing previously unsettled areas.

The emigration of Polish nationals was not encouraged by the newly established government of Poland after 1918, but a steady stream of people continued to come to Canada in search of better opportunities, particularly in farming, for there was not enough land at home. Also a number of those who had emigrated prior to the First World War and had subsequently returned to Poland now came back to Canada. The flow of immigrants declined, not unnaturally, during the Depression.

During the Second World War direct immigration from Poland ceased, and it did not begin again until 1957. During this period, however, many thousands of Poles, primarily refugees and veterans, settled in Canada, coming from all parts of Europe and from outside Europe. The composition of this group was mixed but included, unlike earlier groups, a large proportion of intellectuals and people with specialized knowledge in a variety of fields. In a sense they represented a cross-section of Polish society as it was at the outbreak of the war and were a highly politicized group.

With the end of the Stalinist era, direct immigration from Poland again became possible, though from a high of 3733 in 1959 the numbers gradually declined. The situation changed radically, however, with the rise of the Solidarity Movement and the clash that ensued between the proponents of liberalization and the Party conservatives. Many Poles left the country for economic and other reasons when the borders were opened; many more left when it became evident that liberal policies had come to an end, a large proportion of them via Austria. Their numbers are not fully reflected in the census of 1981, according to which there were 254,485 people listing themselves as Polish in Canada (1971 = 316,425).

Appendix 2: Polish Publications in Canada

The first regular Polish publication in Canada began to appear in 1904; this was the Głos Kanadyjski, published by the Oblate Fathers in Winnipeg. It was followed in 1908 by the Gazeta Katolicka and in 1914 by the secular weekly Czas. These and similar periodicals were supported primarily by religious and secular organizations and experienced at times considerable difficulty in maintaining themselves, even with voluntary and low-paid labour. During the 1930s the Polish authorities in Warsaw were sufficiently interested in the activities of these papers to provide some assistance to those of whose editorial policies they approved. In 1933 a new paper, Związkowiec, made its debut as the organ of the largest Polish organization at the time, The Polish Alliance. Gradually it developed into a newspaper of general interest for the whole Polish community, and it is still being published in Toronto as one of the three or four major Polish newspapers in Canada. The newest addition to the Polish language press in Canada is Echo Tygodnia, established in 1982 primarily as an organ of the new wave of post-Solidarity immigrants. Since the 1930s the Polish language press in Canada has been quite pluralistic, with some newspapers, though not the more popular ones, taking a clear left-wing stand. After the Second World War sharp differences of opinion emerged between periodicals that supported the Communist regime, recognized the Polish government in exile, or argued that the primary function of the Polish language press was to serve the Polish Canadian community and its interests.

At the present time there are several major newspapers and periodicals in Canada, which print news of a general nature, news from Poland, and extensive information about the life of the Polish community; they usually publish political analysis and commentary as well as works of literature and literary criticism. English language material is sometimes included (notably by the Kurier Polsko-Kanadyjski). Attempts at publishing mainly literary or socio-cultural journals have so far proved less successful. Apart from Prąd, a literary-cultural supplement to Głos Polski, which appeared in the 1950s (and for a time was edited by Jurkszus-Tomaszewska), and the Echo Magazine, published for a time in Toronto in the 1970s by a group of young Polish Canadians, the only other venture which should be noted is the bilingual (Polish-English) quarterly Dialogi-Dialogues, published in Edmonton in 1984-87 and edited by Edward Możejko, a noted Polish scholar and critic. Book publishing

ventures have also been few and rather limited in scope. The most successful so far have been the Canadian Polish Research Institute in Toronto, whose publications deal mainly with social matters, and the Polish Canadian Publishing Fund, which has managed to publish several literary works, including the Anthology Seven Polish Canadian Poets.

Appendix 3: Abbreviations

Anth.	Anthologie de la Poésie Polonaise
Fa	Az ismeretlen fa
Cahiers	Cahiers de l'est
CLT	Contemporary Literature in Translation
CPBC	Contemporary Poetry in British Columbia
Explorations	Explorations in Freedom
Gevecht	Een gevecht om Luft
I am	I am a Sensation
KiW	Kolumbowie i współcześni
IL	Instytut Literacki
ITD	ITD (= Etc.)
LB	Lyrische Blätter
Lektion	Lektion der Stille
MR	Malahat Review
MP	Merkuriusz Polski
MPT	Modern Poetry in Translation
NPL	Neue polnische Lyrik
O	O. Publication of the Arts
OP	Oficyna Poetów
OPM	Oficyna Poetów i Malarzy
OzP	Opisanie z pamięci
Panorama	Panorama moderner Lyrik
PAP	Polish Alliance Press
PCP	Polish Canadian Publishing Fund
PFK	Polska Fundacja Kulturalna
PIW	Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy
PL	Pamiętnik Literacki
p.p.	privately published
PP	Poeta pamięta
PPP	Postwar Polish Poetry
Prism	Prism International
PTL	Polskie Towarzystwo Literackie

PVP	Polish Voice Publishing Co.
QSP	Queen's Slavic Papers
Ryby	Ryby na piasku
SPCP	Seven Polish Canadian Poets
Sintflut	Nach der Sintflut
Solo	Solo Flight
TP	Tygodnik Powszechny
Volvox	Volvox: Poetry from the Unofficial Languages of Canada
Wiad.	Wiadomości
ZL	Życie Literackie

Appendix 4: List of periodicals cited

Archipelag. Berlin (1983-)
Cahiers de l'est. Paris (1975-)
Canadian Slavonic Papers. Ottawa (1956-)
Dialogues/Dialogi. Edmonton, AB (1984-86)
Echo Tygodnia. Toronto (1982-)
Eclipse. London, ON (1979-)
Expression. Kenton, UK (1966-68)
Głos Polski. Toronto (1948-51); previously Biuletyn Związku
Głos Polski - Gazeta Polska. Toronto (1951-)
ITD. Warszawa (1961-)
Journal des poètes. Bruxelles (1939-)
Kontynenty. London (1959-66)
Kultura. Paris (1947-)
Légèreté. Daphne, AL)1985-)
Lyrische Blätter. Berlin (1955-)
The Malahat Review. Victoria, BC (1947-)
Merkuriusz Polski. London (1955-59)
Modern Poetry in Translation. London (1965-)
Mosaic. Winnipeg (1967-)
The New Orleans Review. New Orleans (1968-)
Nowa Kultura. Warszawa (1950-)
Nowy Wyraz. Warszawa (1972-)
'O '. Publication of the Arts. Toronto (1975-)
Odgłosy. London (1957-)
Odnowa. London
Odra. Wrocław (1960-)
Oficyna Poetów. London (1966-80)
Orzeł Biały. London (1941-)
Pamietnik Literackie. London (1976-)
Poetry Canada Review
Po Prostu. Warszawa

Poezja. Warszawa (1965-)
Polish Review. New York (1955-)
Polyphony. Toronto (1977-)
Prism International. Vancouver, BC (1959-)
Przegląd Kulturalny. Warszawa (1952-)
Puls. Łodź (1978-)
Queens Slavic Papers. New York (1973-)
Le Sept. Bruxelles (1959-)
Slavic Review. Amer. Assoc. for the Advancement of Slavic Studies (1941-)
Sućasnist. München (1961-)
Tematy. New York (1962-69)
Twórczość. Warszawa (1945-)
Tygodnik Powszechny. Kraków (1945-)
Vice-versa. Montreal (1983-)
Wiadomości. London (1946-81)
Więź. Warszawa (1958-)
Współczesność. Warszawa (1956-)
Zebra. Kraków
Związkowiec. Toronto (1933-)
Życie Literackie. Kraków (1951-)

Appendix 5: List of collections cited

Anthologie de la Poésie Polonaise. Comp. K.A. Jelenski. Introd. C. Miłosz.
Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1965.

Contemporary Poetry of British Columbia. Ed. Joel Michael Yates.
Vancouver: Sono Nis, 1970

Een gevecht om Luft.
Maastre: Corrie Zelen, 1979

Explorations in Freedom: Prose, narrative and poetry from "Kultura".
Comp. Leopold Tyrmand. New York: Free Press, 1970

I am a Sensation. Comp. George Goldberg.
Toronto: Maclelland & Stewart, 1971.

Az ismeretlen fa (The Unknown Tree). Comp. & tr. G. Gomori.
Washington: Occidental Press, 1978.

Kolumbowie i współcześni (Columbus and Contemporaries). Comp. Andrzej Lam.
Warszawa: Czytelnik, 1972, ^{2}1976.

Lektion der Stille: neue polnische Lyrik. Ed. & tr. Karl Dedecius.
München: Hanser, 1959.

Nach der Sintflut: Eine Auslese neuer polnischer Lyrik. Ed. Karl Dedecius.
München: Hanser, 1968.

Neue polnische Lyrik. Comp. & tr. Karl Dedecius.
Darmstadt: Moderner Buch-Club, 1965.

Opisanie z pamięci (Description from memory). Ed. Andrzej Lam.
Warszawa: PIW, 1965.

Panorama moderner Lyrik: Gedichte des 20. Jahrhunderts in Übersetzung.
Ed. Günther Steinbrinker, Gütersloh: Mohn, 1960.

Poeta pamięta (Poet remembers). Ed. S. Barańczak.
London: Puls Publications, 1984.

Postwar Polish Poetry. Comp. & tr. Czesław Miłosz.
New York: Doubleday, 1965; Penguin, 1970; Univ. of Calif. Press, 1983.

Ryby na piasku (Fish on sand). Ed. Adam Czerniawski.
London: Swiderski, 1965.

Seven Polish Canadian Poets. Ed. W. Iwaniuk & F. Smieja.
Toronto: PCP, 1984.

Solo Flight. Ed. Maurice Gibbons & James P. Southwood.
Vancouver: Resource Publications, 1970.

Volvox: Poetry from the Unofficial Languages of Canada. Ed. Joel Michael Yates.
Port Clements, BC: Sono Nis, 1971.

Z głębokości (De profundis). Ed. A. Jastrzębski.
Warsaw: Pax, 1974.

Appendix 6: Criticism

Barańczak, Stanisław. Review of SPCP. Slavic Review, 1986:1

Boraks, Jagna. "Translator's Note" in Wacław Iwaniuk, Dark Times, p. 97-102.

Bullock, Michael. "Introduction" to Andrzej Busza, Astrologer.

Colombo, John Robert. Review of Iwaniuk, Dark Times. Canadian Ethnic Studies (1982:1), 177-78.

Cybulska, Maja E. "'Sylwetka słowa' Wacława Iwaniuka." PL, 6 (1983), 60-78.

Cybulska, Maja E. Wacław Iwaniuk: Poeta. London: OPM, 1984.

Cybulska, Maja E. "Antologia poezji polsko-kanadyjskiej." PL 9 (1985), 118-22.

Czerniawski, Adam. "Przedmowa" [Preface] to Ryby, p. 17-45.

Czerniawski, Adam. "Owijając słowo w bawełnę dźwięku" [on Iwaniuk]. OP 1966:2, 29-30.

Czerniawski, Adam. "Nowe wiersze Iwaniuka." Kultura, 1968:6-7, 198-201.

Czerniawski, Adam. "Swiadomość archetypiczna" [on Czaykowski]. Wiad., 3 October 1971. [Czaykowski's lost paradise].

Czerniawski, Adam. "Czaykowskiego raj utracony" Liryka i druk (London: OPM, 1972), p. 15-22.

Czerniawski, Adam. "Janusza Ihnatowicza Wiersze wybrane." Kultura 1973:11, 145-49.

Czerniawski, Adam. Wiersz współczesny [on Busza, Czaykowski, Iwaniuk]. London: OPM, 1977), p. 41-44, 555-59.

Czerniawski, Adam. "Pocztówka kanadyjska z obrazkiem i legendą" [on Czaykowski]. Kultura 1981:11, 110-13.

Danilewicz Zielińska, Maria. Szkice o literaturze emigracyjnej [Essays on emigré literature]. Paris: IL, 1978.

Durda, Renata. "Ryby na piasku." ITD (1986), p. 45 (on the Kontynenty group).

Folejewski, Zbigniew. "Foreword" to Wacław Iwaniuk, Dark Times, p. 1-6.

Felojewski, Zbigniew. "Foreword" to SPCP, p. 9-16.

Garebian, Keith. Review of SPCP. Poetry Canada Review 1985:7.

Green, P. "The relevance of Surrealism, with some Canadian Perspectives" [incl. Busza]. Mosaic 1969:2-4.

Halikowska, Teresa. "Znaki wodne" [on Busza]. Wiad., 21 June 1970

Heydenkorn, Benedykt. "Żywot prosty a słożibt" [on Bohdanowiczowa]. OP, 1966:3, 9-11.

Heydenkorn, Benedykt. "Widziany przez poezję" [on Śmieja]. Związkowiec, 15 February 1983.

Heydenkorn, Benedykt. "Polacy w kulturze Kanadyjskiej." Tematy 1969: 31-32, 463-72.

Iribarne, Louis. "Introduction" to Danuta Bieńkowska, Między brzegami, ed. Bohdan Budurowycz (London: OPM, 1978), p. 7-27.

Iwaniuk, Wacław. "Dwie antologie." Kultura, 1966:7-8, 204-12.

Jaksiński, Józef. "Nowy tom Iwaniuka." Kultura, 1965:7-8, 208-12.

Kapolka, G.T. Review of Brycht, Zoom. Canadian Book Review Annual 1981 (Toronto: Simon & Pierre, 1983).

Kryszak, Janusz. "Wyobraźnia traumatyczna. Próba przybliżenia Wacława Iwaniuka." In T. Bujnicki & W. Wyskiel, eds., Pisarz na obczyźnie (Wrocław, 1985), p. 109-21.

Kuncewicz, Piotr. "Kontynenty." Przegląd Tygodniowy, 1987:11.

Kuncewicz, Piotr. "Zadomowieni w kraju." Przegląd Tygodniowy, 1987:12 (on B. Czaykowski).

Lam, Andrzej. "Przedmowa" Preface to OzP, p. 5-22.

Lipski, Jan J. "Londyńscy peci." Twórczość, 1966:8, 100-05.

Łukasiewicz, Jacek. "Opisanie z pamięci." Współczesność, 1-15 March 1966.

McKay, Don. "Foreword" to F. Śmieja, Not a Tourist, p. 9-10.

Marcinów, Zdzisław. "'Urodzony wiele razy'. O poezji Bogdana Czaykowskiego," in Ireneusz Opacki, ed., Wśród poetów współczesnych: Studia i szkice (Katowice Uniwersytet Sląski, 1986), p. 142-52.

Miązek, Bonifacy. "Młoda poezja emigracji." Przemiany, Rome, 1969:7

Miązek, Bonifacy. "Ciemny czas i Lustro Wacława Iwaniuka." Teksty i komentarze, (London: OPM, 1983), 97-113.

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Moritz, Albert. "Lessons of catastrophe." Books in Canada (review of Iwaniuk, Dark Times).

Moritz, Albert. "World of wonders." Books in Canada (1982:2), 22-23 (on Iwaniuk).

Pytasz, Marek. "O Kontynentach. Florian Śmieja: 'Gdzie nas zastanie jutro?'" in Opacki, ed. Wśród poetów (see above), p. 129-41.

Płóciennik, Magdalena. "Widząc swoje twarze ..." [on SPCP]. Związkowiec, 20 November 1984.

Przbyoś, Julian. "Młodzi londyńczycy," in Sens poetycki, (Kraków, 1963), p. 165-75.

Ramsey, R. H. Review of Brycht, Zoom. Canadian Forum (1979:59), 31.

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Skwarnicki, Marek. "Siedmiu polsko-kanadyjskich poetów." Tygodnik Powszechny, 4 May 1986.

Solecki, Sam. Review of Brycht, Zoom. "Letters in Canada," University of Toronto Quarterly (1979-80:49), 323-4.

Sprusiński, Michał. "Londyskie Kontynenty." Nowe Książki, 28 February 1966.

Szymański, Wiesław Paweł. "Poezja młodej emigracji." TP, 12 December 1965.

Śmieja, Florian. "Pisarze polscy w Kanadzie." Echo Tygodnia, 10-16; 17-23, 24-30 October 1985.

Wachowicz, Barbara. Malwy na lewadach [on Busza]. (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Radia i Telewizji, 1983), p. 60-68.

Wesołowski, Mariusz. "Głosem ściszonym" [on Śmieja]. Dialogi, 1985:4.

Zyman, Edward. "Jeśli w krajobraz wchodzić masz, to z sobą" [on Śmieja]. Głos Polski, 16-22 April 1985.

Appendix 7: Primary Works

This bibliography comprises all those writers mentioned in the text, together with some others.
Listed are published monographs (excluding early works published prior to the writer's arrival in Canada), and journals and collections where other writings have appeared. Only works of creative writing are included.
For details of journals and collections see the appendices above.

Barylski, Kazimierz

Niezapomniane dnie: Kartki z pamiętnika [The unforgettable days: Pages from a diary]. Toronto, 1983.

Bieńkowska, Danuta Irena (1927-74)

Między liniami [Between the lines]. London: Staraniem Związku Pisarzy Polskich na Obczyźnie, B. Swiderski, 1959 (collection of poems); Pieśń suchego języka [Song of a dry tongue]. Paris: IL, 1971 (poems); Między brzegami [Between Shores]. London: OPM, 1978 (poetry and prose).
Danuta Bieńkowska's papers, including unpublished diaries, prose sketches, and dramatic fragments, have been deposited with the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library at the University of Toronto.

Bohdanowiczowa, Sofia (1898-1965)

Wschodni Wiatr [Easterly Wind]. 1937 (novel); Droga do daugiel: powieść [The Road to Daugiel]. Poznań: Wojciech, 1938 & London: Veritas ^{2}1955 (novel): Ziemia miłości. Wiersze wybrane [The land of love]. London: Nakładem Społeczności Akademickiej, 1954 (poems); Gwiazdy i kamienie [Stars and

Stones]. London: Veritas, 1960 (novel). Przeciwiając się świerszczom [Countering the crickets]. London: 1965 (collection of poems). Poems in Wiad.

Broda, Joseph Walter

Na ruchomej taśmie życia [On the moving assembly line of life]. Toronto: p.p., 1970.

Bromke, Romualda

Rymy moje [My Rhymes]. London: PTL, 1964 (poems).

Brycht, Andrzej (1935-)

Zoom [i.e. zoom lens]. Toronto: Simon & Pierre, 1978 (novel) - also published as "zmienna ogniskowa" (Zoom lens) in Twórczość, January 1986; "Hubris" in Twórczość, January 1984 (novel).

Buczek, Roman

Był taki czas [There was such a time]. Toronto: Century, 1981 (reminiscences); Na przełomie dziejów [At a turning point in history]. Toronto, 1983.

Busza, Andrzej (1938-)

Znaki wodne [Watermarks]. Paris: IL, 1969 (poems); Astrologer in the Underground, tr. by Jagna Boraks and Michael Bullock. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1971

(bilingual edition of poetry); Old Men (Albion Broadsheet, no. 4). Vancouver: Barbarian Press, 1980 (poem); With B. Czaykowski: The Revolution of Things: Selected poems of Miron Bialoszewski. Transl. Washington, DC: Charioteer Press, 1974; with B. Czaykowski: Gathering Time: Five Modern Polish Elegies. Transl. Vancouver: Barbarian Press, 1984.
Poems in Cahiers, CLT, Expression, Kontynenty, Kultura, MR, New Orleans Review, O, Odnowa, Odra, OP, Prism, QSP, Tematy, TP, Wiad., Więz, Współczesność, ZL.
Short stories in Kontynenty.

Czaykowski, Bogdan (1932-)

Trzciny czcionek [Reeds of print]. London: OPM, 1957 (poems); Reductio ad absurdum. London: p.p., 1958 (poem); Sura. London: OPM, 1961 (poem); Spór z granicami [Argument with limits]. Paris: IL, 1964 (poems); Point-no-point - 1953-1970. Paris: IL, 1971 (poems).
Poems in Cahiers, CLT, Dialogi, Expression, Journal des poètes, Kontynenty, Kultura, LB, MP, MPT, Nowa Kultura, Odgłosy, Odnowa, Odra, OP, Orzeł Biały, Po Prostu, Poezja, Prism, Przegląd Kulturalny, Puls, QSP, Le Sept, Sućasnist, Tematy, TP, Wiad., Współczesność, Zebra, Związkowiec.

Grabowski, Zbigniew (Anthony) - also = Axel Heyst (1903-74)

Anna. London: Biblioteka Autorów Polskich, 1945 (novel); Czarny Anioł [Black angel]. London: OPM, 1960 (essays and short stories); Nagrobek: nowele [Tombstone]. London: OPM, 1964 (short stories); Śpiew dziewcząt [The chant of girls]. London: PFK, 1964 (biographical sketches); Rosa Mystica. London: OPM, 1966 (essays); Rozmowy z Tobą [Conversations with you]. London: OPM, 1974 (essays and meditations).

Lunch w Sodomie [Lunch in Sodoma]. Albany, NY: Sigma Press, 1976 (poems); also as Korey, George, Tree of Life: Poetic Diary: selected poems and thoughts. Toronto: Mosaic, 1982; Stubborn Thoughts. Albany, NY, 1980.

Krysiński, Włodzimierz

Ex occidente. Łódź: Wydawnictwo Łódzkie, 1966 (poems); Formotropie. Montréal: Galerie Curzi, 1979 (poems); Powroty sezonów [Returning seasons]. Toronto: Hounslow Press, 1981 (poems).
Poems in Vice-versa.

Leszczyński, Wacław

Ostatnia przysługa latarni. Wspomnienia [The last service of a lantern. Reminiscences]. Toronto: p.p., 1966 (memoirs).

Liebert, Wacław (J.?) (1902-)

Wrony nad Moskwą. London: PFK, 1974 (memoirs); volume of short stories.
Poems in Wiad.

Malak, Henryk

Klechy w obozach śmierci [Priests in death camps]. London: Veritas, 1961, 2nd edition Apostołka miłosierdzia z Chicago. London: Veritas, 1962, tr. as Apostle of Mercy from Chicago. London: Veritas, 1962.

Malatyński, Antoni

Wielka gra, powieść raczej współczesna [Great game: A rather contemporary story]. Biblioteka polityczno-społeczna Polonii kanadyjskiej, Zeszyt no.3. Toronto, 1971 (novel).

Malczewski, Rafał (1892-1965)

Późna jesień. Szkice i opowiadania [Late Autumn: sketches and short stories]. London: PFK, 1964; Pępek świata; wspomnienia o Zakopenem [The navel of the world; memoirs of Zakopane]. Warszawa: Czytelnik, 1960.
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